1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old.

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*).

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, especially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

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Lakemba

cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings out "*ninggo*," it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because whatever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

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Lakemba

157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192 a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

193 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
633 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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PHYSICAL TYPES AND DRESS

The Lauans are a mixture of Melanesian and Polynesian physical types. As a group they are easily distinguished from the natives of Fiji proper and from the Tongans, but some individuals closely resemble the mountain people of Viti Levu while others look pure Tongan. They are a stalwart, well-proportioned and heavy-boned stock, slightly taller than the natives of Fiji proper. The men are muscular with particularly well-developed legs. The very young women have beautiful, slender bodies with upstanding breasts ranging from the Melanesian pointed type to the Polynesian rounded type. Lauans do not grow fat as they age, but develop a Negroid angularity.

There is great variation in skin color among Lauans, but in general they are lighter than Fijians and darker than Tongans. Skin color is usually correlated with type of facial features—light skin with fine features and dark skin with coarse ones. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, where Tongan influence is strong, and on Motiʻe, formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes for Tonga, one notices a strong Polynesian strain —lighter skins, finer features, and wavy hair. But on islands like Fulanga, inhabited mainly by the descendants of the early inhabitants of Lau, dark skins, coarse features, and frizzly hair predominate.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse, black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

> Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

> After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *evuevu (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

"Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Light skins, like those of the
Tongans, especially among the women, are greatly admired. 142
The white skins of Europeans, however, are considered ugly. [832]

The Lauans are a well-proportioned, stalwart and heavy-boned type, slightly above the average height. Almost without 142
exception the young people have beautiful bodies. In general the men are muscular, with well-developed straight legs of which they are extremely proud. The young girls are stream-lined and graceful with slender hips and upstanding breasts. They mature rapidly, and usually by the age of
eighteen have the well developed forms which are particularly [145]
admired by the men. Thereafter with the strain of child-bearing they age quickly. Old people are usually lean and angular.

As may be expected because of the intermediate geographic 144
position of the Lau islands between Melanesian Fiji and Polynesian Tonga, the physical type here described represents a mixture of the racial stock of these two areas.[4] As a group the Lauans are easily distinguished from the Melanesian natives of Fiji proper and also from the Polynesian Tongans, but there are individuals among them who closely resemble the mountain people of the interior of Viti Levu where the most Negroid types of Fijians are found, and others who look pure Tongan. The Fijian types are found among the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Lau, especially on Fulanga, and the Tongan types in Tongan centers like Lakemba, the home of the high chief of Lau.

The Lauans speak a dialect of the Fijian language which 197
belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian stock, found throughout

[4] The terms Melanesia and Polynesia are used in this work primarily to denote culture areas. Melanesia extends from New Guinea to Fiji, and is bounded on the [101]
south by Australia and on the north by the Carolines, the Gilberts and the Ellice islands. On the east lies Polynesia which forms a triangle including New Zealand, Hawaii and Easter island. The two areas differ in native culture, race and language. Melanesian culture is less organized than Polynesian, and the natives are Negroid in type with blackish skins, frizzly hair and coarse features, in contrast to the brown skins, wavy hair and finer features of the Polynesians. The languages of the two areas differ in grammar and vocabulary.